Following birth the baby is not fed for one day and is then put to the mother's breast. The parturient usually remains in bed for four days to a week, and during this period her husband or grown daughters take over the household duties. In summer a mother may be seen carrying her infant through town within two weeks after delivery and by that time she has also resumed most of her customary duties (Plate 4, C). 846

Children born out of wedlock or conceived in adulterous sexual relations are regarded as illegitimate. All illegitimacy is deplored, but the incidence of premarital motherhood appears to be quite low. The child of an unmarried mother may be cared for by the girl herself or entrusted to the care of grandparents. Once illegitimate children are grown, their status is not different from that of other persons and no evidence of discrimination against them could be observed. 848

The only two cases observed of extreme rejection of infants involved illegitimate children. Irene Wiley gave birth to Irma a short time after she had been deserted by her husband, who disapproved of her promiscuity. She did not want the infant, neglected its feeding and care, and often abandoned it in her mosquito tent for long periods while she went riding with soldiers. One cold night in August, 1944, Irene's father's brother's wife found the eight months old baby uncovered and so cold that it had to be revived with warm water. Although news of this incident reached the police, who publicly reprimanded the mother at a dance, Irene did not improve her care of the infant. Commenting on the child Louis Maza once observed: "That baby cure himself. Nobody take care of him. Mother don't care. Never change him . . . Some people tough. Me, I can't do that." Steve Jos, Irene's paternal uncle, said: "My heart sick if I hear that baby cry. Sometime I take care of him." The extent of his care, so far as could be observed, consisted of occasionally feeding Irma sugar cookies. In 1945, when Irma was about two years old and retarded in her development, Irene began to manifest somewhat more attention toward the child. 848 854 626

A second instance of a young mother neglecting her newborn illegitimate infant occurred after the native woman's husband had refused to permit her to keep the child. Although the putative father, a married man, was easily identifiable, no effort was made to induce this man to accept responsibility. Instead both parents left the baby in a tent at Lower Post while they went to visit friends two hundred miles up Dease River. The child was subsequently cared for by the mother's sister and later somewhat reluctantly adopted by its maternal grandmother. For her behavior the mother is reported to have been censured by the Indian Agent during his visit to Lower Post. 848 861 854 597 626

Children are usually named soon after birth, a Christian saint's name being decided upon by the parents or suggested by the missionary if the baby is brought for baptism. Sometimes naming is neglected for several months after birth. If, during this time, a friend suggests an appropriate name it will be adopted by one or the other parent. Thus the ethnographer named Nitla's baby during the summer of 1945. In addition to a formal personal name, a family occasionally coins a nick-name for a child, but the range of such names is limited. Two common English nicknames are Boss and Peggy. 553

Children born in Lower Post are usually brought to the mission a few weeks after birth for baptism. The ceremony is little emphasized by the parents and is often delayed until the matter is pressed upon their attention by the priest. 851

[illegible] by the Tahltan and neighbouring tribes. They knew, however, that head deformation was practised by tribes on the coast living south of the Tlingit and Haida. [illegible] Also unintentional flattening of infants' heads was hardly possible as no boards or cradles were used like those of Indian tribes to the south, such as the Salish and others.

[illegible] The newly-born infant was first wrapped up in fur to exclude the air and keep it warm. Some short time afterwards it was washed in warm water, then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket and placed in a bag or baby carrier of dressed skin. [illegible] When it became a little stronger and answered the calls of nature dry soft moss was put between its legs to absorb all moisture and keep the baby clean. This moss was changed three or four times a day or oftener.

The pad of moss was held in place by a soft breech clout of marmot or other skin in the hair.
(see National Museum Specimen No. 48)

The most common kind of moss used was that called baby moss (Sphagnum). Women about to be confined often gathered and stored up a lot of this kind of moss beforehand. Failing this moss, two or three other kinds of soft moss were used. If no proper moss was obtainable, as happened in rare instances, dry soft rotten wood was used. After childbirth the mother was

After childbirth the mother was fed soft food for several days and given plenty of water to drink. Many also drank copiously of medicines of at least two kinds, viz., a decoction of the sap wood of spruce, and a decoction of the wood of a black berry. Mothers were also fed on soups of meat and salmon or drank the nourishing brews obtained from the boiling of the staple foods. It is said this had the effect of improving and increasing the milk supply and was therefore beneficial for the baby. When the mother felt strong and well enough she returned to the living lodge. No payments were made to midwives. Some informants say that probably very long ago some midwives may have received pay but they are not sure of this. Some wealthy men at the birth of their children gave a feast to the neighbours and distributed skins and leather, etc., among them as presents. It seems this ceremony generally took place when a man's wife returned with her baby from the confinement lodge, but some gave it soon after the birth was announced.

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There was a custom if the infant was a male for the father to repair to the confinement lodge shortly after the afterbirth had come. He took with him a miniature bow and arrows, the latter about five inches long. These he had made as soon as he had learned his child was a boy.

Holding them in the infant's hands, he made

§[illegible] motions as if the infant was shooting the afterbirth with an arrow. Sometimes the arrow was actually shot at the afterbirth. At the same time the father prayed aloud, saying "May my boy be a good hunter and a good shot in after years." He then wrapped up the bow and arrows and going to some tree in a secluded place (or any place near by, according to some) hung the package up in the tree or hid it in the branches of foliage. This ceremony was performed from an hour or two to one day after the afterbirth had come, and generally after its completion the afterbirth was removed by one of the women. It was believed the conducting of this ceremony helped to make the boy become an expert and lucky hunter, and he would never be unable to obtain game when he required it. Another custom (practised some time after the baby commenced to suck) was to place a beaver's tongue in the baby's mouth while it was sucking at the breast. This was supposed to loosen the tongue so that in after years the child would be able to talk Tlinget and other languages without difficulty.

__Navel String__ When the navel string adhering to the child had dropped off, it was stretched as much as possible with sticks and dried. This stretching was supposed to help the baby to grow and become a big person. The more it would stretch, the bigger the child would become. The string was then rolled up its full length, generally the ends being bent together until they met. It was then wrapped round and round with sinew until no part of it was visible. When finished it resembled somewhat a little loop. It was then attached to the back of the head of the bag or baby carrier. /These last 2 sentences are out of context in the original. They seem to be pertinent here./ Sometimes it was covered or wrapped with skin or leather, but usually sinew wrapping alone was used. Great care was taken that it should not be lost, /for if it was/ lost the child would grow very slowly, and might be small or delicate of body and weak of intellect. When the child could walk well or had reached the age of three to five years, most mothers took the navel string to some secluded or hidden place where they concealed it in rocks (generally in a crevice of a steep rock or cliff) or hung it in a concealed place in a tree. Sometimes it was deposited in a rotten tree stump. Whatever country the pouch is deposited in the child will have an attachment for. Hence a mother might purposely deposit it in a certain locality that the child might become attached to the place and make it its home. A dry place was chosen, the drier the better so that the pouch (and the navel string) would last longer. Sometimes the navel string was placed inside a bear's den. This would make the boy a good bear hunter.

846 778 Often a little circular bag of leather was made and the wrapped navel string sewed to the edges, the sack being made to fit the diameter of the string. The parents enclosed in the sack some feathers, down, etc of birds etc., and then sewed up the aperture. Some of these things were emblematic of what they desired as manitous for the child. Some were emblems of their own manitous and some were charms to ensure protection during childhood and success in hunting etc., when the child became an adult.(see National Museum Specimen No. 45.)

846 No gum or particular medicine was put on the child's navel to make it heal. It was merely powdered with charcoal. Charcoal powder was also used on all parts of infants where chafing might occur such as in the armpits, around the neck, etc.

845 Twins Twins were occasional, but there are no cases in memory of triplets having been born. There were no beliefs regarding twins similar to those held by the Thompson and other tribes to the south, and no special ceremonies in connection with the birth and rearing of twins. Neither were twins supposed to have any special powers of any kind. In fact twins were considered rather unlucky and some considered them not as strong as other children. It was thought they were more liable to die young than other children. Also if one died the

Upper Liard

844 where no young man would be likely to encounter it. A rich man might follow the birth of a child with a lavish feast.

842 People possessed a theory to explain the reproductive process. Conception, they thought, resulted from sexual intercourse, in the act of which the spermal fluid (klaga) entered the woman's body to mix there with the fluids discharged during her orgasm. The mixture of these substances produced the baby whose soul or wind entered through reincarnation.[1] Repeated copulation developed the embryo but great frequency might produce twins. Contraceptive techniques remained scarcely suited to attain their intended end. To prevent herself from conceiving a woman might draw back an inch or so when she sensed that her partner was on the point of ejaculating. Coitus interruptus and continence were not practiced with the end of reducing pregnancies. According to one informant, if a husband and wife desisted from sexual relations the marriage would very likely break up and the man take up with another woman. One ritual designed to forestall conception involved a woman's mother filling the expelled placenta of her daughter's last pregnancy with porcupine quills and then caching it in a tree. To burn the clothing worn during delivery also helped to avoid future impregnation. A girl who suffered extremely during parturition would beg her mother to perform that rite in spite of the fact that magic of this kind sometimes led to injury or illness. Barrenness shamed a woman as well as her parents and the cause always resided in the woman. To cure the condition a shaman might give her a strip of fur representing his animal sponsor and this she wore as an outer belt. The husband of a barren woman also took a second wife without, however, quitting his barren spouse.

845 The Indians blamed falls and other mishaps for miscarriages but sorcery remained an always possible explanation for a spontaneous abortion that could not be linked with an accident. The aborted foetus, contained in a hollow log, was either cached in a tree or inhumed between two poles. According to an informant's suggestion, premature babies represented reincarnated souls impatient for rebirth. Generally such infants died but without being neglected or killed. A stillbirth received the same treatment as an aborted foetus. Congenital deformations had their inception when the mother turned in her sleep; hence women in pregnancy were warned to sit up before turning over. As already indicated, frequent copulation between husband and wife in the early stage of pregnancy generated twins. A woman who persisted in an extramarital liaison during pregnancy might also come to deliver twins. Whatever their origin, twins symbolized good fortune. Male twins were destined to be good hunters. No case of triplets could be recalled.

846 The new parents did not resume sexual relations until about three months after delivery. Magically the avoidance protected a man from parturition danger with which his wife remained affected. During the length of the taboo the woman ate apart and used special utensils. Her stay in the birth camp, however, did not last beyond five days. No purification rites attached to the new father, who sought to occupy himself

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[1] See below, pp. 137, 141, 142.

6:Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

as fully as possible during the period immediately following birth. Lounging during the first ten days or so after delivery might canalize a man toward that kind of life.[9] 846

Wiped clean with moss the newborn baby was wrapped in a plaited rabbit skin robe. After 24 hours it first received the breast. Two considerations explained the delay in feeding. Immediate nursing of a newborn baby could be fatal because its stomach was still weak. Even when the child suckled for the first time, people took care that it received only enough milk "to wet his mouth." In the second place, the colostrum did not constitute suitable food in the minds of the Indians. Hence the substance was expressed on the ground by massage, a process in which the lactating woman was aided by a companion. In contrast to the colostrum breast milk must never be allowed to touch the ground, lest no milk would flow for a subsequent baby. When it became necessary to clear swollen breasts people collected the expressed milk in a gut container, which they cached in a tree. To "teach" a young infant to nurse, the mother brushed the nipple against its lips until the sucking started, whereupon she might offer further help by lightly squeezing her breast. The Kaska believed that mother's milk originated from ingested food and liquids. Meat stock and grease could increase the supply and nursing women had fat meat and grease urged upon them. If after three days of trying a woman lacked sufficient milk to content her child, she might solicit another woman to act as wet nurse. However, a nurse's milk was less beneficent than the mother's so that a baby fed through this means did not grow rapidly. Animal brain mixed with water was sometimes used as a substitute for milk, for example, in event 862 of a mother's illness. Unless prevented by the mother's illness or pregnancy a child nursed for about three years. Weaning at that age was advisable because it would prevent the child from drawing blood from its mother's breast. An older sibling never shared the breast with a subsequent baby. Displacement of this kind not infrequently stirred up aggression toward a younger sibling, behavior that earned reproach but never corporal punishment. To assist weaning a mother sometimes forced the child's lip into its mouth with the nipple, repeating the act until all inclination to nurse disappeared. Beginning at about the age of two a child received fat to suck. After that feeding regularly included a little ground (pre-chewed?) meat.

A baby spent all of its time with the mother. Should the latter die, any woman 854 might be asked to look after the child until it was grown. Then the child returned to its father who paid the foster mother for her care. It is likely that a woman's sisters provided foster motherhood and wet nursing when such needs arose and from these women a widower also secured a new spouse. Naming occurred when the child began 553 to speak (earlier according to another informant). Either the father or mother assigned a suitable name and one that rarely reflected any special proclivity or trait of

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[9] It is likely that a man's activity at this time served functions analogous to those realized by the couvade, namely, that the father "counter-balanced in this way his loss of participation in the birth." (Shimkin, *Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone* [1947], 21.) The Chilkat Tlingit also secluded the parturient in a special birth hut. For four days the mother ate and drank little but remained in bed for twelve days. Hunting and work were avoided by her husband. Drucker, *Cultural Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 280-287.

6: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Upper Liard
Dease River

weapons like a bow. Persistence in such behavior, she learned, might affect a brother's 868
heart. Upon approaching puberty a boy began to seek a power dream with the active
encouragement of his father. From now on he began to sleep in his own camp or per- 882✓
haps in the company of older unmarried brothers. The custom probably reinforced the
brother-sister avoidance and is also said to have safeguarded youths in the event of a
surprise enemy raid.

Dease River Kaska. To eat fowl, rabbit, and porcupine or other soft foods in preg- 843
nancy promised to facilitate delivery. Parturition took place in a birth camp, that
consisted of a circular wall of willows surrounding a fireplace. Here older 844
women brought food from the main camp and assisted in the process of delivery. An
ordinary knife served for cutting the umbilicus. Later the stump of the cord was dried, 846
wrapped in a piece of tanned skin and sewn to the baby's hat, where it remained until
the child began to walk. An infant would cry for a long time if this amulet became
lost. Eventually the cord would be cached in a tree, where the skin-wrapped afterbirth
had already been deposited (although it was probably not necessary that the same tree
be employed). Following delivery the woman remained isolated and avoided sex rela-
tions for about three months.

Twins represented good fortune and neither of such a pair was killed. The Indians 845
preferred boy babies to girls because the former would become hunters. Apparently 847
female infanticide was sometimes condoned.[4]

Breast feeding lasted until about the age of three. On journeys, when a child began 853
to cry the whole group of women might halt while it nursed. In winter during outdoor
feeding fire had to be made for the nursing woman's comfort. No principles of naming 553
were specified and teknonymy was denied.

Either parent exercised discipline. Children beyond the age of five who misbehaved 861
or refused to heed parents' warnings were struck with the hands alone. Crawling in a
young child met no discouragement. Toys included the buzz toy, bull-roarer, rawhide 857
rattle, hoop to be pushed by a pole, and hollow moose hooves hung on a pole, which
a child delighted in shaking. Dolls were not played with but string figures, a pastime
said to have been derived from the Taku Indians, furnished children with a pleasant
occupation.

ADOLESCENCE

Upper Liard Kaska. Coinciding with the vision quest, which in a sense marked the 883
completion of childhood, a boy received training in hardihood and endurance.[5] In
autumn he stripped and plunged into icy water. When winter came, groups of naked
boys rolled in soft snow, after which some older men whipped the youths with willows.
A boy never cried out in pain during such a trial but he could protect his chest with
crossed arms and might escape when he reached the limit of endurance. A mild com-

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[4] Among the Tlingit, infant girls were sometimes strangled. Twins being regarded as an "evil omen" were also put to death. Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 121.

[5] Perhaps the exercises began earlier and finished at puberty, as among the Navaho. Leighton and Kluckhohn, *Children of the People* (1947), 56–57.